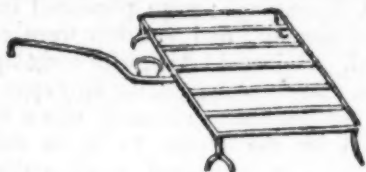


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12TH, 1829.

[Price 7d.]



“Here stand your Ministers and your Parliament on one side, and here stand I opposed to them on the other side: Truth stands between us, the palm in one hand and the fool’s cap in the other, and only waits the assent of TIME to make the award; which award will cover me with honour, and your Ministers and Parliament with shame.”—LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT, dated at New York, 5th September, 1819.

TO
MESSRS. JOHNSON, BAGUELY,
AND
DRUMMOND:

On the present situation of that Government and Parliament by whom they were imprisoned under a charge of Sedition, in the year 1819.

Barn-Elm Farm, 8th December, 1829.

GENTLEMEN,

Soon after you were imprisoned; that is to say, as soon as I heard of it, I addressed a letter to you from Long Island, dated on the 30th of June, 1819. In that letter I exhorted you to coolness, patience, study of grammar, study of other books, in order to qualify yourselves for inflicting just punishment on the boroughmongers; that race of pernicious villains who traffic in seats, and who bribe and corrupt as openly, and with as little remorse, as the kite darts upon the harmless brood of chickens and tears them to pieces. Above all things I exhorted you to strict *sobriety*; to abstinence also, but particularly to *sobriety*; without which, you might rave and foam, but would never be able to contribute towards the obtaining of justice for your country. I cited to you

my own example; I told you that, before I was persecuted, I used sometimes to drink wine, and even spirits and beer, without any check at all; but that the moment this thing had laid its claws upon me, I abandoned all drink but milk and water; and that owing to this abstemious living, owing to this sober life, much more than to any thing else, I had been able to make the boroughmongers tremble in the midst of all their apparent means of security. “To repine,” said I, “to revile, to storm, are of no real use. Sailors, in a gale, do not curse the winds and the waves. They mount the yards, reef the sails, lower the masts, and patiently wait the moment when they dare rehoist and unfurl. This must be your way of proceeding, if you wish to arrive safely at the end of your voyage. To execrate the borough-villains is right and fitting. But without exertion against them, execration is mere wind. Say little, think much, and be constantly at work cultivating your minds, that you may be able to inflict vengeance on the oppressors of your country. Before I was imprisoned, I was now and then tempted to drink wine, and spirits and water. I, after the imprisonment, sometimes drank ale and porter. But since the Dungeon Bill; since CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH were authorised to cram us into a dungeon, whenever they might suspect us of treasonable designs; since the passing of that bill, milk and water, or water alone, has been my drink.”

Now, gentlemen, I never saw either of you in my life; and I do not know that I have heard of you since the date of the letter I have quoted from; but I hope that the precept and example, and the arguments, which were offered to you by me, were not thrown away; and if they were not, I shall be happy to see you, if it should happen to be convenient to you, during my journey to the North, which will shortly take place.

At the time when I addressed the afore-mentioned letter to you, the "Collective Wisdom of the nation" were strangely puzzled as to what they should do with regard to their paper-money. They were afraid lest it should finally blow up in their hands; and therefore they projected the scheme of returning to the ancient currency of the country. I requested you to have patience to wait until they attempted to do this; for that then you would have complete revenge. I assured you that, if you had patience to wait, you would see the day when those who now scoffed at your imprisonment, who now made a mockery of your sufferings, would be in a far more deplorable situation themselves. To that situation they have now come; they have a great deal more to come to; a great deal lower to fall; but your situation, when in your prison, was better than theirs is at this moment.

In another part of this Register, I have inserted a letter from Mr. Western (one of the Members for the county of Essex) to his constituents. I beg you to read this letter; and then to call to mind the petitions of the parliamentary reformers of 1817, the year of the Dungeon Bill. We petitioned for an abolition of all sinecures, pensions, and grants, not fully merited by well-known public services; for the abolition of all squandering and useless commissions, and other pretences for wasting the public substance; for reducing the amount of all salaries and pay going out of the public money; and also for reducing, in a just degree, after the other reductions had taken place, the interest on the annuities constituting the funded debt, so that these might be in proportion to the reduced state of the wages of labour, and of the profits of tradesmen and farmers; for reducing the standing army in time of peace; and, in order that this great change might be accomplished in a manner consonant to the wishes of the people, and that harmony might prevail on the subject throughout the country, we prayed for a reform of the Commons House of Parliament. This was the substance of all the petitions of 1817: a million and a half of Englishmen peti-

tioned for these things; and, at the same time, warned the Parliament of the danger of delaying to listen to such petitions. The petitions were humble in point of language; were presented in a lawful manner; and yet they were rejected. Rejected! Aye, with contempt, scorn, and derision; and the only answer that the petitioners received, was a bill passed by the House to whom their petitions were presented, to cram them into dungeons at the pleasure of the Government.

You will find, that Mr. Western ascribes the distress of the country to the circumstance, that the currency of the country has been changed, so as to cause a great increase in the value of the taxes; and that those who receive the taxes now, receive much more than they ought; and that this is the cause of the terrible ruin amongst traders, farmers, and even landlords. Now, gentlemen, what did we say in our petitions of 1817? We said this: "That the currency of the country has been changed; that the taxes which were imposed in a currency of low value, are now collected in a currency of high value; that the greater part of the debt was contracted in a low currency, and was now paid an interest for in a high currency; that the salaries of the judges and police justices had been doubled; that a like augmentation had taken place in other salaries, allowances, and pensions; that the pay of the soldiers had been more than doubled; that these augmentations had, as the Journals of the Parliament would prove, been made in consequence of the fall in the value of money, which had taken place at the time when they were made; and that, therefore, now (1817, when the value of money had been raised again) the petitioners hoped that the salaries, pay, pensions, and allowances, would be restored to their former state." Now, gentlemen, every body else says this as well as we: we have lived (for I hope you are all alive) to see that time come which I told you would come: we have lived to hear our bitterest enemies acknowledge the truth of our doctrines: they now, this Mr. Western for in-

stance, acknowledge that change in the currency which we insisted upon. I have quoted above from the Hampshire Petition of 10th February, 1817. The Duke of Buckingham, who defended all the measures of that year that were levelled against us, had, as the newspaper reporters told us, the insolence to call this petition *sedition*. If the language and sentiments of the petition were seditious then, they are seditious now: and therefore this Duke, whose family has received so many hundreds of thousands of pounds of public money in sinecures, may now hear plenty of sedition in every street of London; or, in the church porch of every village in the kingdom; for, all that pay taxes, and do not receive any, are ruined; and when men are ruined already, they do not fear ruin from speaking evil of boroughmongers.

If our petitions had been listened to, the country could not have been in the state in which it is now. It could not have been embarrassed with its debts, its enormous establishments, and its panic-producing paper-money. It would at this time have been in a state of great prosperity; and we should have known nothing of that horrible ruin which is now slaughtering so many thousands of virtuous families. It is very curious that, in order to have a pretext for crushing us, in the year 1817 no credit was given to our petitions at all; they were represented as mere pieces of hypocrisy; the two reports presented to the two Houses by committees called Committees of Secrecy, who had had green bags of papers laid before them by CASTLEREAGH, who has since cut his own throat at North Cray, in Kent: it is curious that, in these reports, we were accused of *having a design to subvert funded property*. The lords' committee appeared to be quite in a fever at the thought of our having in view the "*extinction of the funded property of the country*"! Bless their noble hearts; bless their lofty simplicity; we had no such wish: but, on the contrary, wished to take from them their pensions, sinecures, grants, and allowances; and this we wished in order that the fundholders might have *justice* done

them. Oh, no, "noble lords," we always said that the fundholders have a good and valid mortgage on your estates. We said, indeed, that you were fools, for paying them two for one; but we said, we still say, and we will stand to it, that you must continue to pay them two for one as long as you and your families take two for one in salaries, pay, allowances, commissioner ships, pensions, sinecures, grants, and all sorts of things: the fundholder has just as much right to two for one as you have; and a great deal more right; because he has given *something* for the interest that he receives, and you have given nothing and done nothing for the far greater part of what you and your families receive.

Gentlemen, you will perceive by the letter of Mr. WESTERN, that he has no idea of *taking off taxes*: that is the only real remedy, or, at least, it is the main part of the only real remedy; but Mr. WESTERN has no notion of that. In Suffolk there has been a meeting of landowners, at which, it seems, GAFFER GOOCH was present. The doctrine held there was, that there was no want of a reduction of taxes, but a great want of *more money* to pay taxes with. This seems to be the general notion and wish of the landowners; and, viewing them *merely* as landowners, this must surprise every body. For while to increase the quantity of money must, as is well known, be effected by putting out the small paper again, such measure must, of course, be attended with panics and all the old dangers, to get rid of which Peel's bill was passed. They must see, that to put out the paper again would afford relief merely temporary; whereas, to reduce the taxes would be quite effectual, and would obviate every danger. How is it, then, that these landowners do not wish the taxes to be reduced? It is very surprising that they, above all men living, should have such an objection to the reduction of the taxes. They say the taxes have been doubled by this change in the value of money; they are willing to acknowledge that the paper is fraught with danger; and yet they prefer having the paper again to the reducing of those taxes which have been doubled by

changing the value of the money. This is passing strange, upon the first blush of the matter; but when we look into the matter well, we shall find a sufficient reason for this their strange predilection for paper; we shall see a sufficient reason for their wishing the same nominal sum of taxes to continue to be paid.

If the taxes be reduced greatly, salaries, pay, pensions, sinecures, grants, commissioner-ships, and all the monstrous squanderings under the name of allowances; all that is annually heaped upon the clergy, over and above the tithes: all these must, if the taxes be reduced, undergo an unmerciful paring off; for, it will be impossible to touch a farthing of the interest of the Debt, unless a great part of these be abolished, and all the remainder increased to about a third part of what they are now.

"Well," you will say, not *you* indeed; but foolish people will say, "why should *landowners* object to the abolishing or the reducing of these salaries, and pensions, and sinecures, and the like: why should *they* object to this? They are the 'patriots of the soil': they pay these salaries and pensions, and so forth: they live upon their estates, great and independent 'squires as they are: why, therefore, should they wish to continue to give their money to those sinecure and pension people?" Gentlemen, a word in your ear: did you ever come across a little book, called the "*Peep at the Peers*," and another little book, called the "*Links of the Lower House*"? If you did, not another word to you is necessary on the subject: if you did not, it will be necessary to tell you, that of the immense sums which go in salaries, pensions, and the like, including the high and lucrative offices in the army and navy; that these immense sums go, almost entirely, and, indeed, I might say, entirely, into the pockets of the *landowners*, their relations, and their dependents; and that if the taxes were so reduced as to take off even the whole of these immense sums, the *landowners* would lose more by the loss of these sums than they would lose by the confiscation of their estates, leaving these

immense sums in their possession as they have them now. They have, in short, estates of two kinds; one consisting of land, and the other consisting of taxes. And if we take the mortgages on their land into account, their estate in the taxes is worth more than their estate in the land. "Well," some foolish person will say, "but the taxes come out of their lands first, before they get them." I beg pardon of such foolish person. In small part, the taxes come out of their lands; but they have taken excellent care that the main part of the taxes shall come out of the labour of the middle and the working class. They have taken special care that a very small portion shall come out of their income. They have taken care to pay not more than a third part as much tax upon their beer as the poor man is compelled to pay on his beer; they have taken care that the monstrous legacy tax shall fall heavily on personal property, and touch their estates with a hand as soft and as light as down; they took care, in the case of the property tax, to tax my annual earnings (which might have ceased at any moment, from sickness or death) as heavily as they taxed the income from their freehold and perpetual estates. Here was an act of injustice, such as this world never heard of before: all men were to pay ten per cent. on their income, or property, as it was at last curiously called. GAFFER GOOCH paid a hundred pounds upon a farm, which yielded him a thousand pounds a year clear rent. The doctor of the village, who earned a thousand pounds a year, or any tradesman of Bury St. Edmund's, whose profits amounted to a thousand pounds a year, nay, the very farmer upon the farm in question, whose profits amounted to a thousand pounds a year; though each of these had not even a life interest in their income; though the income of each depended for its continuance solely on the continuance of life and health; paid just as large a sum as GOOCH. His piece of property was worth thirty years' purchase. Their property was not worth five years' purchase. If he died, his family had still the same income that he had had: if either of the others died, the

wife and family had, from that source, no income at all; and yet, they were taxed in the same proportion as he; and as his property was worth thirty years' purchase, and theirs not five, they were taxed six times as heavily as he was.

So that, in the first place, the landowners pay a very small portion of the taxes; and in the next place, this portion they get back again, thirty, forty, or fifty fold, by themselves, their relations, and their dependents; and thus it must be, as long as they fill the seats to the exclusion of the middle and lower class of people. I am aware, that it would be very unjust to say that *every* landowner is in this state. I know that there are a great many who receive none of the taxes; and who suffer in common with the rest of us from the high taxation; and of course, who wish to see the taxes reduced; but, I say, and with a thorough knowledge of the fact, that almost every landowner, who has any considerable influence in public affairs, is, whether by himself, his relations, or dependents, a great receiver of the taxes; and that, in general, the family (taking in the dependents) receive more from the labour of the people, through the channel of taxation, than they receive in clear rents of their estates; and therefore it is that they, above all things, are frightened at the idea of a reduction of taxes. I do not know, and I must say that I do not believe, that Mr. WESTERN himself is a tax-eater, either by himself, his relations, or his dependents. I am not sure that he is not; but, as far as my knowledge and belief goes, he is not; but Mr. WESTERN knows well, that he, of himself, can do nothing: his pride, his vanity, his laudable ambition, if you will, restrain him from attempting that in which he must fail. Mr. WESTERN wishes to have co-operation, in order to secure the adoption of his advice. He is as well aware as I am of the immense sums of taxes devoured by the landowners, their relations, and dependents. He sees how hopeless a task it is to endeavour to prevail upon them to consent to a reduction of taxes, which, to a certainty, would take from them their great estate in the taxes, and bring the civil

list expenditure to something like that of the United States of America. Mr. WESTERN knows how impossible it is to get a vote for a reduction of taxes from any of the GRENVILLES or their dependents, for instance, while two of the brothers of that family receive, in sinecures, very nearly seven thousand pounds a year of the public money. The same may be said of those who fill the seats in general; and while this can be said, who is to hope that they will voluntarily give their consent to a reduction of taxes?

Yet something must be done now; and therefore Mr. Western's proposition is to get more money put out, or stuff which they call money; which will, indeed, or, rather, which would, lower the real amount of the salaries, pensions, and so forth; but then it would cause no abolition of any of these, and no reduction of the enormous army. All would seem to continue as it was before: the taxes would be lowered. The salaries, and pensions, and sinecures would be lowered; but they would not be taken away; and the landed estate would be less burdened than it is now; and this is the reason why the landowners, who are also the principal taxowners, and the army and navy, and public office, and tax office, and police office, and church and law-sinecure office owners; this is the reason why they deprecate all idea of a reduction of taxes. They know well enough that, by putting out the paper-money, they will, in effect, reduce the tax upon the poor man's pot of beer. They do not like the idea of doing this; but to take off the tax upon his pot of beer *entirely*, would be the very devil. In short, the people now work for them and their families; and if the taxes were taken off, they would work for them no longer.

Besides these powerful considerations, there is one which touches a very vital part belonging to them, and that is their *pride*. If they reduce the taxes, they must reduce the interest of the Debt, in the amount of one-half, if not more; because they will obtain no relief unless they go to that extent. Now, the putting out of the paper again, and thus debasing the money, would, in effect,

reduce the interest of the Debt as completely as if reduced by act of Parliament: but then, the "*wisdom of Parliament*"; the "*collective wisdom of the nation*"; for this sublime and omnipotent body, who have resolved, as many times as they have fingers and toes, that they would never be guilty of a "*breach of national faith*"; for this immaculate body; these senators of the British Empire, whose all-searching eyes sweep over the whole surface of the country, and descry the means of imposing a tax where no one of mortal mould ever supposed those means to exist; that this illustrious and almost supernatural body, whose optics, from sweeping over the land, can so contract themselves all at once as to be able to ascertain the vast advantage of having measures and weights regulated by the beating of a pendulum in a temperature of 62 degrees according to Fahrenheit's thermometer; and whose versatility of talent enables it to determine the precise number of sheets of paper, and the price to the fraction of a farthing, that a periodical pamphlet must have, in order to prevent it from containing sentiments of sedition; that this wonderful body of men, who are the rulers of the destinies of that which is the "*envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world*"; that this stupendous set of seat-fillers should, after resolving, unresolving, re-resolving, enacting, repealing, re-enacting, RE-ENACT AGAIN, and all upon a subject which they had "*set at rest for ever*," when they passed their first act; that this incomparable body, who calls all the rest of the people, people "*out of doors*"; that this body, which (symbolical of its purity) have clerks who write in gloves; that this body, this renowned assembly, should at last pass another act, to annul its former acts and resolutions, and to commit a direct breach not only of that famous "*faith*" of which they have so long been talking, but a direct and express breach of every act of Parliament that has ever been passed, authorising the making of a LOAN; that such a body should do such a thing is quite terrific to think of, especially by those

who are interested in keeping up this dreadful concern.

Not only all my prophecies are fulfilled, whenever they do this thing; but the nation's bankruptcy would be regularly declared to all the world. To return to the vile paper, is doing the same thing in effect, only it would be done clandestinely; but the fundholders would still have their same nominal amount. A dividend of a hundred pounds now, would be a dividend of a hundred pounds then. But if by the other scheme, or rather the other mode of proceeding, the dividend of a hundred pounds were at once to become a dividend of fifty, and were to go by that name, every body would say, "*Here is a broken government! here is a bankrupt nation!*" and now let us inquire into the measures, by which this ruin and disgrace have been produced; and let us inquire *who were the persons* that passed these measures, or who procured or caused them to be passed. Mr. WESTERN must be aware that this would be said. He must think that it would not be said wholly in vain. Mr. Western knows that he has been in Parliament about *forty years*; and he also knows that he never made any remarkable exertion to arrest the progress of this nefarious system.

But there would, moreover, be a general alarm throughout the civilized world: not a man upon earth would look upon credit in England as being worth a single penny. Nobody would again, for a long while, put any trust in the Government, or in its acts of Parliament. The funds would be so degraded, and looked upon as things so infamous and low, as to be no better than Spanish bonds, or the bonds of Canning's New World. If, indeed, a general adjustment were to take place on equitable principles; if all contracts were revised, and all engagements put upon a fair and just footing; then a reduction of the interest of the Debt would produce neither convulsion, alarm, nor disgrace; because then the principles would be well understood, and the measures would accord with those principles.

This, however, is what we have not to

expect: every trick in the budget will be resorted to till the operators come to the very last; and if the affairs of the boroughmongers; if all their arrogance, insolence, and ferocity, be not banished from the earth by some terrible popular convulsion, we shall all have to congratulate ourselves on the event.

I will now, gentlemen, insert for your perusal the letter of Mr. WESTERN. I do this for the sake of having it upon record, and not for the sake of the value of its contents. I recommend it, however, to your perusal. It alone, if there were nothing else, would convince you that despair has seized upon our once haughty and insolent foes. That that sobriety, and that cultivation of the mind, which I so strongly recommended to you in 1818, may have tended to preserve to you life, and to give you vigour and efficiency of mind, so as to enable you to enjoy the scenes now before you, and those approaching, is, gentlemen, the wish of

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

*"To the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders,
and Inhabitants of the County of
Essex."*

"GENTLEMEN,—The difficulties which have long weighed heavily upon the industrious and laborious classes, now press with such severity, so extraordinary and so anomalous in this visitation of universal distress, that I feel convinced you must be looking to your representatives, to whom your most important interests are confided, for some expression of their opinion upon the causes of the calamity, and of the means that ought to be pursued to avert it. There is hardly an individual now, having a capital engaged in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures, who does not feel an injury, coming, as it were, from an invisible hand; and every one, whilst feeling it, casts an anxious eye around him, and, unable to discover from whence it comes, dreads the moment when he shall be added, another victim, to the multitudes of

"honest and industrious men who have already fallen.

"You may, perhaps, more especially expect from me a communication of my sentiments, because I ventured, some years ago, to declare a decided opinion upon the cause of the grievances then existing, and which, with the variations in degree, and one short interval, have continued ever since, and which are now accumulating and gaining daily more destructive force. I declared my conviction then to be, that all our sufferings were owing to the mistaken views of our statesmen respecting the currency; and that so fatal was the error they had fallen into, that the evils arising out of it, however they might be less destructive at one moment than another, could neither be conquered by patience nor would cease by time; that any hopes of relief therefrom would be fallacious: and that to put off a correction of the error would only increase the difficulty, and add to the number of sufferers. I was first led to this conviction by men of superior intelligence and experience to myself, who saw the error before I did; but as soon as the conviction became fully established in my mind, the truth of it appeared so obvious, the reasoning upon which it was founded so clear and so conclusive, that I have never since felt hesitation or doubt upon the subject; every day's tale of misfortune and misery has added strength to the proposition; and I believe there are few men of business or reflection who do not now begin to open their eyes to the light which forces itself upon them. I say, then, our difficulties now rise from the same cause as in 1822; they do not arise from any of the commonly alleged causes; it is neither surplus production nor surplus population, nor is it the effects of machinery, nor want of markets, nor corn laws, nor tithes, nor taxes, which have produced them. It is the violent and sudden change made by our statesmen upon all our money obligations which has caused the entire evil. The tremendous effects of legislation upon the currency of a

“ country, the influence derivable there-
 “ from upon the fate of nations, and on
 “ the property and happiness of indi-
 “ viduals, is not at all understood; but
 “ search the history of this and every
 “ other country, and it will be made ap-
 “ parent; if you only tax your memory
 “ with a recollection of the woes of the
 “ last fifteen years, and reflect upon
 “ them, and make a comparison of dates
 “ and circumstances, the rapid fall and
 “ rise in the money value of articles, and
 “ then again their depression, the sud-
 “ den alterations of prosperity and ad-
 “ versity which have taken place; re-
 “ flect, I say, a little upon these extra-
 “ ordinary changes, and you will not fail
 “ to see that nothing but wrong legis-
 “ lation respecting the money of the
 “ country can have been the cause. It
 “ is in the power of the supreme govern-
 “ ment of a country, by an operation
 “ upon the currency, to make or un-
 “ make the fortune of thousands, by one
 “ apparently simple measure; and I
 “ feel no fears or doubts when I assert,
 “ that that one act of 1819, commonly
 “ called Peel’s Bill, did so operate upon
 “ thousands, that it effectively doubled
 “ the debts and taxes of the nation, and
 “ of every debtor in it, not indeed to
 “ the full benefit of the creditor, but to
 “ the full loss of the debtor. And here
 “ I am not looking merely to the mo-
 “ ney debt of one man to another, of a
 “ hundred pounds or any other amount.
 “ All the industrious and laborious
 “ classes are debtors, inasmuch as all
 “ public payments of national debt, civil
 “ list, army, navy, church establish-
 “ ments, parochial rates, highways, the
 “ administration of justice, &c., are
 “ charges upon, and are paid by, the in-
 “ dustrious and laborious classes; that
 “ is to say, out of the products of their
 “ industry and labour; and if by an
 “ operation upon the currency those
 “ products and labour are made to sell
 “ for only half the price they sold be-
 “ fore, the debt is to all intents and pur-
 “ poses doubled, and those debtors, the
 “ industrious classes, proportionally in-
 “ jured. There is no man who must
 “ not, out of the products of his industry,
 “ whether from the plough, the loom, or

“ the sail, or from the sweat of his brow,
 “ produce twice the quantity of goods
 “ to pay the same amount of charges
 “ which would have been required pre-
 “ vious to Peel’s Bill, and upon the pass-
 “ ing of which this effect was immedi-
 “ ately consequent; it followed more
 “ immediately than ever effect followed
 “ cause upon any conceivable measure
 “ of legislative interference. To the
 “ astonishment and dismay of the holders
 “ of goods of every description, the
 “ markets gave way at once 20, 30, 50
 “ per cent., and the honest labourer in
 “ vain sought a demand for his labour.
 “ It is the universality of this sudden
 “ depression which proves so demon-
 “ strably the whole case; if one or two
 “ articles only had so sunk, special rea-
 “ sons might have been found; but
 “ when every product of agriculture,
 “ manufacture, commerce, and the price
 “ of labour itself, all suddenly came down
 “ to such an extent, I say the problem
 “ is solved. It is a diminished supply
 “ of money that evidently must be looked
 “ to as the cause. If all our money of
 “ every description consisted of gold
 “ and silver, and if one-half was by a
 “ combination of causes withdrawn from
 “ the circulation, we should of course
 “ find a proportionate diminution of the
 “ quantity of money we could obtain
 “ in exchange for our commodities and
 “ our labour; so, if Peel’s Bill has
 “ equally reduced our joint currency,
 “ consisting of paper or credit money, as
 “ I may term it, and metallic, of course
 “ the affect must be precisely the same;
 “ and that it did so reduce it, the sudden
 “ and immediate fall of commodities and
 “ labour is the proof. But the cause of
 “ our extraordinary difficulties is, I think,
 “ made still more apparent by advert-
 “ ing to the general circumstances and situ-
 “ ation of the country; in the midst of dif-
 “ ficulty and distress so peculiar, we pos-
 “ sess all the elements of prosperity: the
 “ powers of the country, the wondrous
 “ improvement in all the useful arts, the
 “ enlightened intellect, the increased in-
 “ formation, the enterprise, the industry
 “ of all active classes of society at this
 “ moment, never were exceeded or per-
 “ haps equalled; the capital applicable

"to the employment of industry is still
 "superior to that of any other country,
 "though it has been of late years griev-
 "ously reduced, and the agricultural
 "capital of the country to a most serious
 "extent; still I say, upon the whole,
 "there never was a country possessing so
 "fully the elements of prosperity. What
 "then can be the cause of the universal
 "embarrassment and difficulties under
 "which we labour? I know that multi-
 "tudes will answer, the taxes; but I
 "say, the taxes would not be felt, if they
 "were payable in money of the same
 "value of that in which they were im-
 "posed; it is the monstrous act of doub-
 "ling that value which has occasioned
 "this unexampled state of things. But
 "even here the mischief does not end;
 "the increased value of the currency was
 "of course occasioned by a diminution
 "of its quantity; a proportionate reduc-
 "tion in the money value of every article
 "necessarily took place; then came a
 "forced increase of the circulation, and
 "consequent advance of prices, soon to
 "be inevitably followed, as it was, by
 "still greater reduction and depression.
 "Thus confusion has been thrown into
 "every mercantile transaction; and so
 "cruelly have the most prudent endea-
 "vours of industry been disappointed,
 "such is the uncertainty that prevails in
 "all mercantile transactions, that men
 "now will not hold stocks of any articles,
 "and it is to be feared they will, ere
 "long, wholly confine their operations to
 "the supply of the daily demands of the
 "markets. The currency is now so re-
 "duced that it is not sufficient to carry
 "on the commerce of the country; our
 "statesmen, indeed, talk of increasing
 "manufactures and commerce, and give
 "flourishing, though, I believe, often fal-
 "lacious, statements of exports and im-
 "ports, ships built, tonnage, and men
 "employed. I say fallacious statements;
 "for some gentlemen can play with their
 "official returns in a very extraordinary
 "manner, and prove to ruined multi-
 "tudes that they are in a most thriving
 "and prosperous condition. But what
 "avails increasing commerce without
 "any profit attaching thereto? Who
 "will venture to say that capital and in-

"dustry now give any profit? Who will
 "say, that where there is no profit, the
 "labourers can be adequately paid?
 "Who, indeed, will deny that half our
 "manufacturers and others, having capi-
 "tal employed in great work, are carry-
 "ing them on with an annual loss, and
 "continue their works only because their
 "loss is less than would be the abandon-
 "ment of their establishments, for which
 "they know there is no adequate sale?
 "Mr. Taylor, in his admirable work on
 "the money system of England, quotes
 "a remark made 200 years ago by Mr.
 "Graves, a writer on money, who said, 'If
 "the mystery of exchanges and valua-
 "tion of money be not better understood,
 "it may fare with nations after much
 "commerce, as with some bodies after
 "much food; that instead of growing
 "full and fat, they may pine away and
 "fall into irrecoverable consumption.'
 "Mr. Taylor goes on to observe, 'Eng-
 "land has three successive times since
 "the war been on the verge of that kind
 "of consumption, and she has the com-
 "plaint upon her at this moment.'
 "This picture is not too highly coloured;
 "and was ever such before presented to
 "the eyes of any people on earth? and
 "this after fourteen years of profound
 "peace! What could produce this state
 "of things, I ask again, but the cause
 "to which I ascribe it? a sudden and
 "violent change in the money of the
 "country, increasing its value inordi-
 "nately, throwing, consequently, a double
 "load upon all the industrious and pro-
 "ductive classes, confounding all values
 "and all the public and private money
 "obligations of the country, confusing
 "and obstructing all the operations of
 "commerce. No other country could
 "have borne the shock, nor could this,
 "had it not been, when the blow was
 "first struck, in a condition of strength
 "and vigour unexampled; and here, let
 "me remark, is the reason that the diffi-
 "culties I have described, are compara-
 "tively so little seen; a giant blow has
 "been struck, but with giant strength the
 "country contends against it. But you
 "will ask me what must be done? We
 "must tell our Rulers that common
 "sense and painful experience have

" shown us at length the cause of our
 " distress; they must not longer deceive
 " themselves or us with plausible state-
 " ments and vain hopes; they cannot
 " longer conceal the truth and plain
 " matter of fact; they must re-consider
 " their measures; they have evidently
 " got into a wrong path, they must try
 " to get right; perseverance in error
 " has already gone to an unwarrantable
 " extent; they have too long sought
 " to avoid a confession of the terrible
 " mistake that has been made. I
 " say, they have gone much too far, con-
 " sidering the universal distress which
 " pervades all the industrious classes,
 " and the sufferings of the labouring,
 " threatening to injure fatally the moral
 " character of the people. The idea that
 " their settlement of the currency is
 " never to be disturbed, is, I think,
 " presumptuous, and even foolish in the
 " extreme, and evinces a portion of that
 " confidence and unhappy ignorance
 " which distinguished those economists
 " who were the oracles of the day, and
 " the real authors of Peel's Bill, (un-
 " luckily fathered upon, and named
 " after, him.) Why not revise and
 " amend measures of legislation which
 " now are confessed by many, even
 " of the promoters of those mea-
 " sures, to have been passed under a
 " gross mistake, and which have proved
 " to be totally different from what was
 " intended? It is said, I know, that we
 " cannot be always legislating upon the
 " currency, and I should say so too if
 " we were in a right course; but if in a
 " decidedly wrong course, to refuse again
 " to legislate, is as absurd as would be the
 " conduct of a pilot who should refuse
 " to put the helm down when the ship
 " was going against a rock. The fact is,
 " the possible effect of Peel's Bill upon
 " all the agricultural and commercial
 " interests of the country, was never
 " made matter of inquiry by the Minis-
 " ters or Committees of both Houses, or
 " the Houses of Parliament collectively,
 " when it was passed. In 1822, when the
 " distress under which the productive
 " classes laboured, exceeded even that
 " of the present time, I ventured to pro-
 " pose to the House to revise Peel's

" Bill; I urged the necessity of so doing,
 " from the evident proof then existing of
 " its having been the cause of what we
 " were suffering; and to relieve us from
 " which I certainly contemplated some
 " probable alteration of the arbitrary
 " gold standard which had been adopted.
 " By Peel's Bill, gold was for the first
 " time made the sole standard, and the
 " price fixed arbitrarily at its former
 " rate, without the least inquiry respect-
 " ing its adaptation to the marvellous
 " changes in the state of this country
 " and of Europe, which had taken place
 " since its total disuse here as a cur-
 " rency in 1779. Mr. Huskisson, in an
 " elaborate speech, contended against
 " any alteration, and concluded by mov-
 " ing a resolution, as an amendment
 " upon my motion, 'That this House
 " will not alter the Standard of Gold
 " and Silver in fineness, weight, or
 " denomination.' This he took from
 " a resolution moved by Mr. Mon-
 " tague, 1696, when the metallic
 " currency had been unlawfully clip-
 " ped and debased; and it was pro-
 " posed to depreciate proportionally the
 " then standard silver. Mr. Huskisson
 " argued that the cases were similar,
 " and that our conduct should be such
 " as was then adopted upon the advice
 " of Mr. Montague. Whether that ad-
 " vice was wise, may not be so certain.
 " I believe, if its effects had not been
 " counteracted by causes which he did
 " not contemplate, the perfect wisdom
 " of Mr. Montague, as well as that of
 " Mr. Huskisson, might have been
 " brought into question; but the state
 " of this country in 1696 and 1819, as
 " respected its monetary system, had no
 " more resemblance to each other than
 " the systems of England and China.
 " Mr. Huskisson's amendment was car-
 " ried. In that same year, however,
 " and the following year, we find him
 " (that is, as one member of the Govern-
 " ment, and a leading member on cur-
 " rency subjects) employed in making
 " a most material alteration in the value
 " of our currency, which was actually
 " accomplished. What matters it that
 " this was done by increasing our paper
 " circulation, instead of altering the me-

"tallic standard? The same end was
 "arrived at; the rapid change which
 "began to take place in the money value
 "of all commodities towards the end
 "of 1823, and which, in 1824, placed
 "us in a condition of temporary prosperity,
 "is fresh in all your memories; this was
 "effected entirely by measures taken for the
 "extension of the currency (of course alteration
 "in its value), measures avowedly declared to be
 "for the purpose of increasing the currency,
 "by Lords Liverpool, Castlereagh, &c. &c. I know
 "full well that this change of value and state of
 "prosperity so brought about, was of very short
 "duration; that a reverse followed again; a
 "dreadful reverse. But why? because the authors
 "of those measures only half understood what they
 "were about; they saw that an extension of the
 "currency would give relief; they lifted the ship up
 "by that means, but they left her under the full
 "weight of Peel's Bill, which soon sunk her again
 "upon her side. But here was made evident what alone was
 "and is wanting, namely, an increased currency,
 "increased means of circulating the products of the
 "country; and is it to be believed, that we cannot
 "so increase our circulation as shall suffice for the
 "wants of the country, and lift us up again to the
 "prosperous state of 1824, and at the same time guard
 "against the dangers and mischiefs which then
 "followed? How can we doubt the possibility of
 "ultimate success if adequate pains were taken? It is
 "evident now that the full execution of Peel's Bill
 "is impracticable; that it is only by means adopted to
 "counteract its influence that the business of the country
 "has gone on; its operation unopposed, limits our
 "circulation to so ruinous a degree, that a stagnation,
 "a paralysis ensues; and yet every measure of
 "opposition to its fatal power, is hazardous; every
 "effort made to counteract its influence, is attended
 "with more or less danger; the more effectually it is
 "for a time counteracted, the greater the danger; for
 "instance, in the period just alluded to, the Lords
 "Liverpool and Castlereagh, horror-struck by the
 "distresses of the

"people, particularly in Ireland, when the unexampled sight
 "of people starving in the midst of plenty was exhibited
 "to our eyes; when these noble lords, I say, saw this,
 "they by their measures distinctly charged it all upon
 "the contraction of the currency under Peel's Bill, and set
 "about the extension of it with such vigour that they
 "speedily effected their object; the currency was largely and
 "hastily expanded, the sun broke suddenly in upon us,
 "and all was life and spirits: it was so sudden, that our
 "prosperity was intoxicating; nor was the Chancellor of
 "the Exchequer less intoxicated with the change which had
 "taken place, when he declared that all classes of the
 "people were enjoying a state of unexampled prosperity.
 "This was pretty nearly the truth at the time he was
 "speaking; but he, good easy man, did not dream that the
 "next day would come a storm, a dreadful storm,
 "and all his fine prospect be dashed to pieces. He did not
 "see, the Ministers did not see, the Parliament did not
 "see, the people did not see, that Peel's Bill would not
 "suffer so violent an attack with impunity; that it would
 "speedily bring in again all the currency which had been
 "so hastily pushed out; this result, which they ought to have
 "foreseen, took place, and panic and ruin followed.
 "The Ministers then, to save themselves from blame, accused
 "the people of a mania of speculation, and fell upon the
 "country bankers tooth and nail; but they themselves were
 "the only people to blame; their measures of 1822 and
 "1823, were neither more nor less than a speculative attempt
 "to defeat the operation of Peel's Bill, and yet to keep it on
 "the statute book. I proved how little they understood
 "its power; the same difficulties again came on, and then again
 "all kind of different causes are talked of; over production,
 "the tremendous power of machinery, is a favourite expression
 "now, surplus population, and I know not what. They still,
 "however, would counteract Peel's Bill; but then they are to do it
 "this time very prudently; they will take steps to prevent so large

" an extension of credit currency, and
 " so will have no small notes of private
 " banks; they repeal the bill of 1823,
 " established branch banks of the
 " Bank of England, and persevere
 " in the most unjust attack upon the
 " country bankers, the most useful
 " persons to the industry of the coun-
 " try. Further measures are now
 " talked of; Bank of England one-pound
 " notes are to be issued; the funds are
 " to be forced up, and the fours reduced
 " to threes; a reduction which will
 " distress many persons, and by no
 " means relieve the embarrassments
 " and difficulties under which we la-
 " bour. These measures are as vain
 " as the others which have been tried.
 " From the history I have just detailed,
 " it is clear what alone is wanting;
 " what would bring immediate relief;
 " and what alone can bring permanent
 " relief; it is an extension of the cur-
 " rency under safe and just limits. But
 " it is not only in the case above recited
 " that prosperity has been the immediate
 " result of the extension of the currency;
 " the same circumstances occurred in
 " 1817; and it is not only that prosperity
 " is the immediate attendant upon an
 " increased currency, a contraction of
 " the currency as immediately produces
 " embarrassment and distress; the con-
 " traction made in 1815 and 1816, pre-
 " paratory to cash payments, caused the
 " difficulties of 1815 and distress of 1816,
 " similar to those which again began in
 " 1819, and increased on to 1822. In
 " 1817 they were removed by the same
 " means as in 1824. Surely, the events
 " of those two periods might suffice to
 " satisfy any person's mind in respect to
 " the cause of our present difficulties,
 " and of the means that must be applied
 " and would be effectual for our relief.
 " The first object of legislation upon
 " the money of a country, should un-
 " doubtedly be to keep its value as in-
 " variable as possible; now, I contend
 " that Peel's Bill is shown, by this short
 " review, to have produced effects dia-
 " metrically the reverse of this object;
 " that the money of the country has
 " never been so variable, no such ruin-
 " ous fluctuations of value ever occurred,

" as have taken place since that time.
 " What use, then, is Mr. Huskisson's
 " famous resolution, or of what effect
 " but to betray and ruin? If the money
 " of the country can practically, and to
 " all intents and purposes, be altered
 " and to a great extent, in its value,
 " without altering the metallic standard,
 " what is the maintenance of that stand-
 " ard but a fraud? I do not, however,
 " mean to say, that a metallic standard can
 " be altogether dispensed with, but that it
 " is productive of ruin instead of utility
 " to attempt to establish a standard which
 " keeps no measure with the vast commer-
 " cial and financial engagements, both
 " public and private, of the country. The
 " standard to which Mr. Huskisson is so
 " devoted, absolutely distracts all our
 " operations, and will continue to be, as
 " it has been, a source of deception and
 " fraud, instead of security, to the coun-
 " try; there will be a never-ceasing
 " effort to escape from its power; and as
 " far as such efforts are occasionally at-
 " tended with success, temporary and
 " partial relief will be obtained; if not
 " successful at all, stagnation and ruin
 " will follow. Ministers, as we see, have
 " been trying continually to escape from
 " it; the people, by some means, will
 " continue the same attempts; they will
 " use more caution, both Ministers and
 " people, but the struggle must go on,
 " as for life and existence, and fluctu-
 " ation and distress, in every varied de-
 " gree, will be felt, such as we have ex-
 " perience the last fourteen years, in
 " fact ever since our statesmen began the
 " work of restoring the currency to a
 " sound and healthful state, as they
 " called it. Now, I do not mean to urge
 " the propriety of any measure of rival
 " violence with Peel's Bill, but I insist
 " upon the necessity of a most anxious
 " revision of it, and all our currency
 " laws; first, I say, there is no way of
 " solving the problem of our extraor-
 " dinary situation, but by looking to
 " these fatal currency measures, which
 " are capable, and alone capable, of
 " producing the anomaly; then, I say,
 " that a most diligent inquiry, with the
 " aid of all the information which Go-
 " vernment can command, would in-

“evitably lead to a clear view and exposure of the error that had been committed, and to the discovery of means effectual to the accomplishment of that object of primary importance, a safe and adequate circulating medium.

“I know there are those who will say, if the Legislature should entertain the question of the currency, with a view to any alteration, it would cause great alarm, destroy confidence, and excite speculations of every kind; but there is no ground for such an apprehension; on the contrary, it is necessary to the restoration of confidence, which has been destroyed by these fluctuations and alternations which I have described. Such have been the rapid changes in the money value of all commodities, that nobody can tell what to do or trust to; every species of contradiction to ordinary rules has been exhibited; we have had low price with a scarcity, high price with plenty, and people starving in the midst of abundance. In 1825, when wheat was at 68s. or 70s. the average, Ministers said the happiness and well-being of the people was unprecedented; indeed there undoubtedly was then no complaint, or cause for any. In 1827, when wheat was at 58s. (10s. cheaper at least), and all other articles varying in the same proportion, the same men said it was an alarming price, and means must be taken to facilitate the supply of foreign corn; and a bill was passed accordingly. This is almost incredible; but if you look into well-authenticated reports of the debates, you will find it is very true. I say that these performances, and their consequences, have destroyed confidence, and it is absolutely necessary the Legislature should take up the subject of the currency in a very different style from the past, in order to restore it. I entreat you to pause and reflect upon these facts, because they are absolutely conclusive of the question; here are shown plenty and happiness at 68s. for wheat; scarcity and distress at 58s. I own I am surprised that the people of this country should fail to see that this monstrous anomaly must arise from

“the difference of the money at those two different periods, and nothing else; and that there should be statesmen still capable of deceiving them, with the ridiculous tales of over production, &c. &c.

“An earnest inquiry into the effects of our present system must, at all events, be gone into, and a more comprehensive view must be taken of the present situation of this country and of Europe, as relates to their financial and monetary systems. The enormous amount of our debt, the general prevalence of credit currency for almost every operation of commerce and trade, and the impossibility of again reverting to any extensive use of the precious metals, render it absolutely necessary to look round for other means to give stability and security to such a system, besides the ancient plan of subjecting the precious metals to a fixed price, which to attempt upon any other commodity would be considered madness. At the same time it is possible our difficulties might at all events be partially removed, much easier than those who caused them are willing to allow. A judicious, though slight, alteration will often produce very considerable effects; I think *the resumption of the silver standard, and the restoration of the small-note currency*, would give some relief; at all events, a *trial might be made with safety*. Let it not be forgotten that Scotland and Ireland have been allowed to retain their country small-note currency with a penalty upon its circulation in England. An arrangement so at variance with common sense and justice can never be permanent. *We must legislate again, and we must take a different course* from what has been pursued, or we shall very soon exhaust the sinews of our strength, and fall into a state of decay, out of which it will be extremely difficult to recover. It is time the industrious and intelligent people of the country should interlere; if the agriculturist, merchant, manufacturer, and shipowner, raise their voice in harmony with each other, as they obviously ought, on this occasion, and tell our statesmen that they ascribe their difficulties to the state of the cur-

"rency, the *Legislature will certainly take the subject into mature consideration*; I think otherwise, nothing will be done till some dreadful catastrophe occurs, and which, if we go on as we now are doing, will take place at no very distant period. In thus addressing you, gentlemen, I have done what appeared to me an indispensable duty at this juncture; I feel confident you will give me credit for the motives by which I have been actuated, however you may or may not agree with me in the opinions I entertain.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your faithful and obedient Servant,

"CHAS. C. WESTERN."

LOW TAXES.

I AGREE with the writer of the following letter, which letter I beg my readers to read with attention. I have, in the foregoing article, explained *why* the landowners are afraid of low taxes. I agree with this writer, that it is for low taxes, and not for low money, that we ought to contend.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.

SIR,—Permit me to request that you will be good enough to insert this letter in your Register; it shall not occupy much room, it cannot do harm, and may perhaps, do some good.

Your cry has ever been, that the passing of Peel's Bill was just and good, it had your full consent and approval; and has mine, and ought to have the approval of all of us, for what more wicked and more complete means of effecting the slavery and ruin of any country than a paper currency? Paper is very cheap; and when it is made to represent money, why, of course, a corrupt Minister can corrupt and bribe all about him, as long as credit and paper-mills stand good. This is evident. Well then, "down with the paper-money," say you and say I; but there comes a small matter in rear of this same cry of "down with the paper-money," namely, "take off taxes"; down with taxes to 30 millions and less; and here it is that you are most conspicuously correct. You like Peel's Bill, but you

also like low taxes; you delight in Peel's Bill, so do I; but we both delight also in low taxes. Give us, in short, we cry, metal money and metal taxes, and nothing else. But, Sir, all the people who write about the currency, except yourself, not excepting Mr. Attwood, Mr. Densham, and a hundred others, persist in leering round upon the paper-money plan, in order that the country may be enabled to pay the present amount of taxes. This hankering after, this returning fondness for, the hag paper, in order that the nation may go on paying the present amount of taxes; this it is which puzzles me, and makes me wonder and choke with surprise at all the writers, saving yourself. What can they be thinking of? Why do they meanly twist their eyes round, as if they were mounted upon swivels, at the paper again? Why not corroborate your plain notion of the matter? Why not co-operate at once with you? Why not applaud to the skies Peel's Bill, and roar out, one and all, like Stentors, for metal taxes, alias low taxes? Ah! Sir, they have still a Jerry-Sneak kind of affection for the rags; there is, I fear, a pitiful lurking kindness for the Threadneedle Lady, after all, among them. Mr. Attwood himself tickles the question; he coquets with the old wrinkled devil yet; he never gives a vital and hearty thrust at the odious weight of the taxes, and why does he not? He knows best. Oh! Peter, Peter, I mean Macculloch, silly as thou art, thou hast done much mischief; but I forgive thee, Peter; for God knows that, although thou hast all the gravity of a goose, thou art nothing but an idiot!

Do, Sir, give me a reason, if you can, for this unwillingness in such men as Mr. Attwood and Mr. Densham to roar out for low taxes. It is a kind of moral monster which shocks me, and yet this blinking of the question is almost universal. Our disease is high taxes; the cure is to take them off. I repeat it, our disease is high taxes; the cure is to take them off. Will Government take them off? No. Then are we slaves. I repeat it again, Then are we slaves. Will Government take them off? Not without asking; and every writer ought to be disgusted at himself, when he finds himself winking and

blinking and shrinking from, instead of buckling in at once with, the only true difficulty of the case.

There is another puzzler which makes me wonder. The people here persist in congratulating each other upon every quarter's revenue being collected to the full amount. What shall we say to this? It is like the sheep saying, "Well, God be praised! winter is coming on, and I have been skinned alive."

QUIDAM.

Liverpool, 29th Nov. 1829.

LECTURE-SPEECHES.

I NOTIFIED in my last, and I have also done it in the newspapers, that the next Lecture-Speech will be given at the Theatre of the Mechanics' Institution, on *Thursday the seventeenth instant*; and that, on the 18th, I shall *set off to the North*, not to be in London again until the *meeting of Parliament*, when I shall resume the Lecture-Speeches in London.

My route to the North and back I have advertised as follows: Birmingham, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Ripley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Blackburn, Preston, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Gloucester, Reading, (or Aylesbury,) London.

Now I may, possibly, not be able to stop at all these places; I may, perhaps, not find it convenient. I may be induced to alter my route; but in that case I will give timely notice of my intended movements, particularly to those friends who from several of the above places have written to me, and have taken measures for my accommodation.

I find, upon due reflection, that I shall not be able to reach Birmingham before the evening of Saturday, the 19th inst. Then I must wait 'till Monday, the 21st inst. I have almost promised to be at Derby, on the 24th, so that, unless something particular should induce me to stay a night at Leicester, I shall pass through that town without stopping, except to change horses. It is probable, that I shall quit Derby on Sunday, the 27th

instant, and go to Nottingham; and thence to Sheffield, on, perhaps, the 30th instant. If I stop there, I shall not be in Leeds before the 2nd of January. Here is enough for the present. The Register, and such other public papers, as I can avail myself of, will convey to my friends further information from time to time, as occasion may require. As to the proper places for the lecturing, or, rather, speech-making, the most roomy are the best. The play-house is, generally, a good place; and that has been engaged in one of the towns, at least.

I shall travel *post*, because my time must all be at my own command. I shall be obliged to any friends, who will, by letter, point out to me desirable inns to go to.

CANDLE TAX.

A GENTLEMAN, who is in the candle trade, assures me, that the fat which I spoke of as being so cheap, is not that which will make candles; and that I am greatly incorrect in my statements of the cost of the materials and labour in the making of candles. Now, I never said, or thought that the candle-maker got too much profit; but, I said, and I still say, that the tax causes a monopoly besides its amount; that it necessarily does this; and must do it, as long as it exists. I know, that I can get hardly any thing for my loose fat; I do not get 2d. a pound, and never have; and I know from my experience in America, that 10 pounds of fat will make 9 of candles, and better, far better tallow candles than I have ever seen in England. In short, if there were no candle-tax, I should now have my candles at 3½d. a pound at the most, instead of 7½d.; and as I use, at my farm, much about a pound every 24 hours, here is a tax on me of about 2s. 4d. a week on candles alone. It is not the tax itself, so much as the rude prohibition to make for yourself; and this is probably monstrous in the case of farmers, who, while they have the fat, and all the conveniences for using it, dare not use it, dare not make lights, even for their own houses and business; and here am I, in a farm-house, compelled to pay

five or six pounds a year, because I am punished like a dog, if I make lights out of my own fat! The same is the case of soap, hops, malt, and every thing, in short, that is necessary to our existence. The mercantile price of tallow is nothing to me. I have the tallow of my own produce; I must send it to some distance to get any thing for it. If it were not for the tax and the penalties, I should make it into candles; and the effect would be what I have stated. My correspondent says, that the candle-makers have petitioned against the tax. This may be; but I can assure them, that if the tax were repealed, not another candle would they ever make for a farmer. In America the farmers sell candles to their neighbours who have no fat; and they would do the same here, to be sure. The candle-makers are necessary to great towns; but there would be none in the country if it were not for the tax, which, like all other taxes, creates unproductive labour, labour thrown away, labour that ought to be, and would be, otherwise employed in a way advantageous to the community.

RURAL RIDES.

I HAVE NOW collected these, and published them, in one volume of considerable size, price 10s. Many persons have wished to possess them in this form; and, therefore, I have thus published them. I say published; but, perhaps, the volume will not be ready for sale until next week.

COBBETT'S CORN.

"BURY ST. EDMOND'S HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Yesterday this Society held their fifth meeting for the present year, which was numerously attended. The show was excellent for the season. Among the flowers a beautiful specimen of the *Cactus Tan-cata* obtained a prize. Dessert fruits were numerous, particularly apples; and amongst the cottagers nine prizes were awarded for fruit and vegetables. Three specimens of bread made from Cobbett's Corn were exhibited; to two

"of which prizes were awarded. The corn was grown by Mr. Lines, of Lilvermere, and Mr. Ray, of Tostock. Many ladies and gentlemen tasted the bread, and approved of it."

A pretty good answer to beastly *Old Times*! By-the-by, ANNA BRODIE (if she be still alive) is now becoming impudent again. This she-proprietor of this corrupt, infamous old paper is now without that "*coverture*" which she had from a man, called "*Doctor Brodie*," parson at Eastborne, in Sussex. Anna, delicate Anna, has talked a good deal about my paunch. When I come back from the North, I will go to Eastborne, and fish a little into Anna's affairs, as she has done in those of my farm yard; and by doing which she has actually set my fool of a landlord to send me saucy messages, for which I will publicly rap his knuckles, as soon as I can find a moment of throw-away time. I will pay him properly for his insolence in sending me paragraphs from the stinking *Old Times*. He has thought proper to make this vile paper a party in our private concerns; and, as he has resorted to the press, he shall very quickly have his belly full of the press. The public shall know all about "*straw*" and every thing else. He has deserved rapping from me several times; and now I will pay him for old and for new. He is a pretty fellow, indeed, to show airs of insolence! My time is out next Michaelmas, and then he will have had from me about 900 pounds more than the worth of the use of his land; a sum which I shall NOT LOSE, because my Corn-project succeeded; but a sum which he will gain by that project, that sum being, as I shall prove, first so much more than the sum that his land was worth for the three years. And yet he must be saucy! So hard it is for a Nabob to lower himself down to decent English behaviour. Honour, "anon, sir, anon"! While I am passing an evening at some inn, I shall find time to do him public justice. I will make him remember having made common cause with stinking *Old Times*.